

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 EUR-25 NEA-10 RSC-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

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FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1618

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 5236

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR RO UN

SUBJ: SOR RESOLUTION

REF: STATE 232127

1. AMB BENNETT SPOKE AS FOLLOWS DURING PLENARY DEBATE
ON ROMANIAN SOR RESOLUTION ON AFTERNOON NOV 29:

2. "MY GOVERNMENT HAS CAREFULLY STUDIED THE VIEWS OF MEMBER
COUNTRIES CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT A/9120, ON "STRENGTHENING
THE ROLE OF THE UN WITH REGARD TO THE MAINTENANCE
AND CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,"
AND FINDS MUCH WITH WHICH WE CAN AGREE. THE US IS GRATIFIED
THAT SEVERAL STATES NOTED THE URGENT NEED TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT
ON GUIDELINES FOR UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. WE, AS OTHER MEMBERS
HAVE DONE, URGE THAT GREATER USE BE MADE OF THE EXISTING
MEANS FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, INCLUDING
THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL, A REVITALIZED
INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, AND THE VIRTUALLY
LIMITLESS POSSIBILITIES OF QUIET DIPLOMACY PRACTICED IN A
SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL AND MUTUAL COMPROMISE. FINALLY, WE
ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH ALL THOSE WHO NOTED THAT THE
SUCCESS OF THE UN DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON THE POLITICAL WILL
OF ITS MEMBERS TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLES LAID OUT IN ITS
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CHARTER.

TODAY'S CONSIDERATION OF WAYS TO STRENGTHEN THE UN SEEMS AN APPROPRIATE OCCASION TO CALL ATTENTION TO A TREND WHICH IS HAVING JUST AND REVERSE EFFECT, AND WHICH IF ITS CONTINUES, COULD SERIOUSLY WEAKEN THE UN'S POTENTIAL AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. WHAT I AM REFERRING TO IS A GROWING TENDENCY ON THE PART OF THIS ORGANIZATION TO ADOPT UNENFORCEABLE OR IMPRACTICAL RESOLUTIONS AND TO REJECT CONSTRUCTIVE IF LIMITED ACTION IN AN EFFORT TO ATTAIN UNREALISTIC "TOTAL" SOLUTIONS.

THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS CONSTRUCTIVE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ALONG REGIONAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR IDEOLOGICAL LINES, INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE UN. WE REALIZE THAT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION MUST BE BASED ON THE PERCEPTION OF MUTUAL INTEREST AMONG LIKE-MINDED STATES. WE ARE ALSO SUFFICIENTLY FAMILIAR WITH PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICES TO KNOW THAT AN ASSEMBLY OF THIS SIZE CAN ONLY FUNCTION ON THE BASIS OF SUCH GROUPINGS, THE COMPOSITION OF WHICH WILL NORMALLY VARY FROM ISSUE TO ISSUE. WE BELIEVE THAT GROUP ACTION CAN PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, AS MY GOVERNMENT WAS QUICK TO ACKNOWLEDGE IN THE CASE OF THE CONTRIBUTION BY THE NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TOWARD THE SETTING UP OF A UN EMERGENCY FORCE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

HOWEVER, RECENT VOTING PATTERNS WITHIN THE UN LEAD US TO CONSIDER WHETHER OR NOT BLOC VOTING IS NOW TOO OFTEN BEING USED IN A MANNER WHICH RAISES SERIOUS QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

ONCE CONCERN IS WITH THE INCLINATION OF MANY UN MEMBERS TO SUPPORT ONE-SIDED OR SIMPLISTIC RESOLUTIONS ON COMPLICATED OR CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, RESOLUTIONS WHICH DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE WEIGHT OF WORLD OPINION, AND WHICH, WORSE STILL, HAVE NOT THE SLIGHTEST CHANCE OF BEING EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENTED. THE UNITED NATIONS IS NOT AN INSTRUMENT FOR WISH FULFILLMENT. RATHER IT SHOULD BE A CATALYST FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION ON WORLD PROBLEMS. MARSHALLING MAJORITIES BEHIND UNENFORCEABLE RESOLUTIONS IS A MEANINGLESS UNCLASSIFIED

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ACTIVITY. IT DISCREDITS THE ORGANIZATION, AND BRINGS ULTIMATE FRUSTRATION TO THOSE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE QUESTION WHO WISH TO SEE REAL PROGRESS ON THESE DIFFICULT ISSUES.

THE CASE FOR A RESPONSIBLE APPROACH TO THE ISSUES FACING THIS ASSEMBLY WAS MOST ELOQUENTLY MADE BY FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL U THANAT, TWO YEARS AGO IN HIS 1971 ANNUAL REPORT, WHEN HE SAID:

"IT IS FUTILE TO ADOPT RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH EVERYONE KNOWS FROM THE START WILL HAVE NO EFFECT. TO ADOPT RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH ARE REALISTIC, WHICH ARE FAIR TO ALL THE INTERESTS INVOLVED, IS BOUND TO INFLUENCE WORLD OPINION AND TO AFFECT THE COURSE OF EVENTS. THE ASSEMBLY THUS OFFERS THE SMALLER AND THE MEDIUM POWERS NOT ONLY A VOICE, BUT ALSO A WAY OF INFLUENCING THE COURSE OF EVENTS FAR IN EXCESS OF WHAT WAS PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE TO THEM. TO REALLY EXERCISE THIS INFLUENCE, HOWEVER, THE MAJORITY MUST MAKE IT PLAIN THAT THEY WILL LISTEN TO BOTH SIDES OF A CASE AND NOT ONLY TO THE LARGER FACTION. THE MAJORITY MUST PROVE THAT THEY WILL SEEK A REALISTIC WAY OUT OF DIFFICULTIES RATHER THAN RESORT TO CONDEMNATIONS OR THREATS.

"IT WOULD BE A GRAVE PITY IF THE SMALLER AND MEDIUM POWERS THROW AWAY THEIR OPPORTUNITY AND FAIL TO ESTABLISH SOME COLLECTIVE CREDIBILITY THROUGH A MORE REALISTIC APPROACH TO WHAT THEY CAN OR CANNOT DO."

ANOTHER CONCERN IS WITH THE WILLINGNESS OF SOME TO STALL OR BLOCK UN ACTION IN AREAS WHERE GENERAL IF LIMITED AGREEMENT MAY BE ATTAINABLE, ON GROUNDS OF FRUSTRATION AND QUITE JUSTIFIABLY WITH THIS ORGANIZATION'S INABILITY TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATE SOLUTIONS FOR MORE DEEP-ROOTED, SOMETIMES MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS WHICH PERFORCE REQUIRE TIME FOR FULL AND FINAL SOLUTION. PROGRESS ON MANY OF THE GREAT ISSUES BEFORE US CAN ONLY COME ABOUT THROUGH THE MOST PATIENT, PAINSTAKING, AND THOROUGH PROCESSES OF DIPLOMACY. SOLUTIONS OF THE SMALLER DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS WE FACE ARE OFTEN THE PAVING STONES ON THE ROAD TO SOLUTIONS OF THE LARGER ONES. E CAN ONLY COMPLETE THE JOURNEY IF WE TAKE THE NECESSARY FIRST STEPS. EACH OF US HAS A

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RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP ALL OF US MOVE FORWARD, TO ASSIST THE WORLD COMMUNITY IN REACHING A GENERAL CONSENSUS WHERE IT CAN, AND TO AVOID DESTRUCTIVE OR DANGEROUS CONTENTION WHERE GENERAL AGREEMENT CANNOT BE FOUND.

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FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1619

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 5236

THE GREAT POWER OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IT SEEMS TO MY DELEGATION LIES IN ITS ABILITY TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO WORLD OPINION, TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON PROBLEMS, TO POINT TOWARD OR SUGGEST SOLUTIONS, AND TO HELP CREAT A CLIMATE IN WHICH PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED. WHEN WE ADOPT PATENTLY UNREALISTIC POSITIONS, WE DISCREDIT THIS ORGANIZATION, AND ULTIMATELY WE FURTHER WEAKEN ITS CAPACITY TO FACE REALISTICALLY THE VERY PROBLEMS WE WANT IT TO SOLVE. EACH STATE MEMBER, AND PARTICULARLY STATES WHOSE SECURITY AND INFLUENCE ARE MOST SERVED BY THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG UNITED NATIONS, MUST BE ALERT LEST THROUGH CARELESS OR THOUGHTLESS ACTION WE END BY CONTRIBUTING TO THE WHITTILING AWAY OF THE PRESTIGE OF THE UN. I DO NOT OMIT MY OWN DELEGATION FROM THIS INJUNCTION. EACH NATION REMAINS RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS OWN ACTION, AND THUS FOR ITS OWN VOTES HERE IN THE UN. WE HAVE TOOO OFTEN HEARD REPRESENTATIVES PRIVATELY ADMIT THAT THEIR DELEGATION WAS VOTING AGAINST ITS OWN PREFERENCES AND CONVICTIONS ON A GIVEN ISSUE IN THE INTERESTS OF ONE OR ANOTHER FORM OF "SOLIDARITY." SOVEREIGN STATES CANNOT SO EASILY ABDICATE RESPONSIBILITY. EACH OF US MUST REALIZE THAT OTHERS WILL JUDGE US--AND WILL JUDGE THE ORGANIZATION A A WHOLE-- BY WHAT WE DO IN PUBLIC, NOT BY WHAT WE SAY IN PRIVATE. HISTORY WILL JUDGE THZ UNITED NATIONS BY WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHES, NOT BY WHAT IT SAYS IT WOULD LIKE TO ACCOMPLISH.

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THE WAY THE UNITED NATIONS RESPONDED TO LAST MONTH'S HOSTILITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST GIVES CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM ABOUT THIS ORGANIZATION'S ABILITY TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY EVEN IN THE MOST DIFFICULT SITUATIONS. I THINK WE HAVE ALL EXPERIENCED A REVIVAL OF SPIRIT IN RECENT WEEKS. IF MEMBERS OF THIS

ORGANIZATION CAN AGREE ON ACTION, TENTATIVE AND PRELIMINARY
THOUGH IT MAY BE, ON SUCH LONGSTANDING PROBLEMS AS THE MIDDLE
EAST AND KOREA--TWO PROBLEMS AS DIFFICULT AND CONTENTIOUS AS ANY ISSU
ES
BEFORE US--THEN THERE IS INDEED HOPE THAT THE U.N. MAY YET
COME TO FULFILL THE DREAMS AND EXPECTATIONS OF ITS FOUNDERS.
IT IS PARTICULARLY NOTABLE THAT IN THE INSTANCES CITED ALL
GROUPS INTIN THE U.N. HAD THEIR PARTS IN PROPOSING AND IN
SUPPORTING CONSTRUCTIVE U.N. ACTION.

OUR PRESENT DISCUSSION ON STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE
U.N. IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF HOW REASONABLE DISCOURSE AND
CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP CAN HELP TO MOVE THIS ORGANIZATION
FORWARD. MY GOVERNMENT WISHES TO EXPRESS ITS APPRECIATION
FOR THE SINCERE EFFORT THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION HAS MADE TO
FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE CENTRAL PROBLEM BEFORE US ALL--HOW
TO MAKE THE U.N. MORE EFFECTIVE IN THE REAL WORLD, HOW TO MOVE
IT FROM RHETORIC TO RELEVANCY.

WE BELIEVE THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION HAS MADE A GENUINE
CONTRIBUTION TO THE EVOLUTION OF THINKING WITHIN THE U.N. ON
THESE ISSUES. MY DELEGATION INTENDS TO VOTE, DESPITE A CERTAIN
VAGUENESS OF LANGUAGE ON SOME POINTS, FOR THE DRAFT RESOLUTION
CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT A/L713. WE HOPE THAT EACH DELEGATION WILL
HAVE TIME TO STUDY WITH CARE THE MANY THOUGHTFUL STATEMENTS
WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE HERE. LET US ALL PROFIT FROM THIS
USEFUL EXERCISE.

BENNETT

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